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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A VOICE FROM THE VALLEY OF VIRGINIA,

ON

THE TIMES, THEIR PERILS AND PROSPECTS.

[*The following pages are the editorial leaders of the Martinsburg (Va.) Gazette, in four successive weekly issues, since the 10th of December, 1850. It has been thought that some good result may possibly follow their re-publication in a pamphlet form.*]

NUMBER I.

More than twenty-two years ago, the following extract from a Charleston paper, with the editorial comments, were printed under the editorial head of this paper. A newspaper is like an individual, it has the advantage of experience, and may refer to its early views and opinions to prove that it has been, if not distinguished, at least consistent. Let our old patrons read the following from the Martinsburg Gazette of July 17, 1828:

"*From the Charleston City Gazette, July 4th.*

"THE FOURTH OF JULY.

"As 'The Jackson Disunion Party' intend to celebrate the 4th of July, by an open declaration of eternal separation from the Union—as the Aristocrats, aided by British emissaries, are warm with the hopes of once more returning to 'the flesh pots of Egypt,' and vindicating the principles of the Tories and Refugees of the Revolution, by atoning for their ingratitude to the mother country—the minority, composed of the sturdy old Democrats, native and adopted, will have to pledge deep to the following toasts:

"*The American Republic.*—Too dear to the hearts of her native and adopted children to dread the paracidal arms of Aristocrats and British spies.

"*The Government of the United States.*—The Government of THE PEOPLE—As well may Satan hope to obscure the sun, whose brightness he hates, as British intrigue expect to tear down the temple which our fathers consecrated to national freedom.

SPIRIT OF '76."

There is something singular in the above paragraph—unexplained, it might be esteemed as belonging to the period of the Revolution; overlooking the date and the context, the hasty reader might really fancy that it was an extract from some South Carolina paper printed between 1780 and 1787; it would suit that period right well. There is, we opine, a good deal of meaning in the above paragraph—it goes far to explain the cause and the character of this excitement in South Carolina, which to the distant beholder looks dangerous and looms large, like the lurid glare of fire in a dark night, which burns out in a moment, and proves to be a brush heap. It imports that there are three parties in the State. It also points out by whom (and by knowing them, we may conjecture, for what) this state of disaffection is encouraged, and the daring unlicensed language held to

wards that sacred liberty, which was purchased by the blood of patriots, and that holy and invaluable union of the States which is preserved by its cement.

First, there are the leaders of the Jackson party, who wish to identify "the odious measure of the Tariff" with the present Administration—keep up a steady heat in the people of the State that they may be welded and moulded into an unbroken "Jackson" mass. These very men would sooner loose their right hands, than have that very disunion brought about which they prate about so magnificently.

We then have in the above extract another class *alluded* to, rather than defined, whose party colors are of a deeper and a darker dye—who seem to date their origin back to those days when South Carolina obeyed the loyal Generals CLINTON and CORNWALLIS, when her patriots fled the land, and saw their patrimonies wasted, their names proscribed, and their places assumed by those recreant Tory, traitorous countrymen that gave their adhesion to the British Crown, and licked like dogs the hands of their British masters. And can it be, that there is still a party of this sort in the State? Can it be that fifty years has not buried in oblivion this hateful band, their relics and their principles? If not, satisfied we are that the third class, the "sturdy old Democracy" of the country, when once awakened to the fact of the existence of the machinations of such a party, will crush with a Giant's grasp, this puny monster of treason and discord.

We trust in God, that there is no such party actually organized in that State of bold and talented freemen. But if there be, we know enough of the people of that State to know, that long before they would suffer the ark of our safety to be touched, they would pour out their best blood, as their fathers did before them, in its defence.

Some folks are disposed to feel alarmed at these manifestations of disaffection. If it were not for the respect which we have for so many good and true men in that State, we should rather be disposed to laugh. Is this the first time that we have heard the cry of wolf? Does any man believe that those terrible, lamentable evils which call forth so much pathos and prophetic eloquence, are really felt in this free, happy, smiling land—where Corn and Wine and Oil abound—where not only all the necessaries, but most of the luxuries of life and the means of opulence, are produced in lavish abundance within her wide borders? Where taxation oppresses not even the poorest man, and the machinery of government is hardly seen, or the jar of it felt, it runs so lightly—where the will of the majority is cherished and regarded as the main-spring and prime moving power of it? In fine, does any man suppose that one State, even if unanimous, can sway twenty-three others to her partial views, and imbue them with her folly, and persuade them to beg back of George the 4th the yoke that they hurled into his father's face? Really, it is hardly worth while seriously to argue with these prophets of evil, who are as sensitive on this subject as if they esteemed our "well established" Government a rope of sand.

Is there not something striking in this old commentary? What are the natural reflections arising from its perusal? That account for it how you may, there has always been a want of kindly *American feeling* among the leading men of that singular State. There has been so much State-*Right* feeling, as to make the State *wrong* in her position. What is this owing to? Why should South Carolina at this time, with sullen, unyielding and unfraternal spirit, be seeking to sever the holy band that binds the States together? Were the old Federal party right in their views that this band was too weak?—that the centrifugal would some day overcome the centripetal force of the political system? Is it not curious that South Carolina should now, *now* be mourning over the *Consolidatory* tendency of our Federal institutions, when she is in her own case exhibiting the very reverse—the dangers to be dreaded from State jealousy and discontent—and when at the North mischievous fanatics are advocating secession and acting so as to produce it, for the very opposite reason—on the same question—both complaining of, and assailing the General Government—the one *Pro*-Slavery, the other *Anti*-Slavery: South Carolina because Congress will not legislate *for* Slavery—Massachusetts, because Congress will not legislate *against* the interest! Can *both* be right? Can *either* be right? *Neither*—the statement of the case shews it. Both are WRONG—*both* are out of their duty—*both* are running into extremes—*both* are jeoparding Liberty, Union, Republicanism, Prosperity, and *Honor*. Yes, HONOR—the honor which springs from a chastened, faithful, truthful patriotism which looks beyond present imaginary or theoretical injuries, or wrongs, to a glorious future, made certain by an adherence to the *fraternal* bond—made sure by an *honest adherence* to the political Federal Compact; even if the *apparent* working of the Confederacy sometimes *seems* to work injustice. We say *seems*, for who is it that cannot see that Congress are not to blame—the Constitution is not to blame—the bargain is a fair one, and how has the Federal Government broken it?

But say the gloomy spirits of the South, who march to the funereal notes of that distinguished but discontented man, Mr. CALHOUN, the Northern people break the Constitution in their fanatical zeal to break down Slavery. We have no heart to defend these fanatical fools, who sport with fire-brands, arrows and death—nor those who tolerate them—nor those who have not the courage and the manliness to put them down; but we again say, one wrong don't justify another,

one madness don't make right another;—the way to meet and oppose presumptuous and pretentious interference with your rights, is not to jump to reprisals. The way to meet and counteract an incendiary, is not to put a torch to his dwelling too, and thus *burn the town;* but to stand upon your *civic* privileges and bring him to justice—to remain on the side of the *law* and *good order*, and *trust something* to the sense of right in the community—to rely hopefully, calmly, and resolutely, upon that returning sense of justice and love of right, and hatred of injustice in the human heart, (the hearts of men in the aggregate, as a community, which is as the heart of one man,) which will in the course of human events inevitably stand by and support the right. *Then* let South Carolina stay in the Confederacy and insist upon her chartered rights—these can, in the end, protect her interests, which will go to destruction out of it.

Shall we go into a detailed argument to shew that the present state of the Slavery question is the inevitable consequence of the *Texas* movement and Texas Annexation—the cherished and favored scheme of the late distinguished statesman of South Carolina? Of the *Mexican War*, with its its predicted results of conquered territory—complicating this most to be dreaded subject? Cui bono? —let by-gones be by-gones, but *not forgotten* when they come in as elements of TRUTH.

Yet again, we say, what has the *General Government done* to make South Carolina bid "good bye to Old Virginia?" *If she secedes*—as she threatens to do—*she does this*, depend on it, in the name of the PEOPLE of this Commonwealth, who will soon have the Constitutional right to say so, we proclaim it —and without a new Constitution, recognizing them as the people with power to say so —we *know* that the old Commonwealth *never will consent* upon this issue, to tear her symboled star out of the Flag of our Union, and throw into chaos again the beautiful and blessed Constellation of free United States.

Let South Carolina beware. She may do much mischief, but she can do no good by her present desperate course. She is now "between the acting of a dreadful thing and the first motion." Oh let her pause!—because "being done, there is no pause."

NUMBER II.

We are here between the two extremes—geographically at least we hold the golden mean. Alas! this has become a *geographical* question—one of those that our father WASHINGTON in his Farewell Address warned us to beware of. *He* knew enough of the country, and the people of the country, to see with a prophet's vision, that if any thing was to break the holy bond of political brotherhood—if any thing could ruin the glorious compact between these States—the last, best effort for rational liberty and human happiness; it would be this unhappy sectional jealousy which has marred hitherto every labor of the patriot and lover of his race, by making those enemies, who should be brethren and co-workers; merely because they are sometimes divided by a narrow frith, or an imaginary line.

And while the nations of Europe are shewing to us that in spite of their antiquated governments, and institutions encumbered with old abuses, that *they* even are gradually obliterating these absurd feuds: while England has made "Tweed's silver stream" a bond instead of a barrier: and France now comprises Burgundy, Langue d'oc, and Navarre within her borders: while Russia has made herself an empire of many nations and races, and with this Union has risen from an obscure existence a century and a half ago, to be a mighty, and a civilized, and invincible Nation: while Prussia can hold the track of progressive greatness; and the whole Germanic people are panting for a wider and a grander Union: we here, who pointed them to the true path—*we*, the pioneers of the great and true system of separate State governments for all domestic and municipal purposes, with a great Federal United Government for general and foreign relations—*we* are doing our utmost to undo our own work, like a crazy inheritor of a valuable model, containing the secret of a noble principle, breaking it to pieces even, as a silly child would break a toy, in sport.

What madness—what a humiliating spectacle of human weakness—what a satire upon free institutions—what a gratifying exhibition to the tyrants and aristocrats of the Old World—what a desecration of the inheritance of the fathers of the Republic—what a disgrace to the children of GEORGE WASHINGTON.

And one of the most alarming features of the case is, that the People are not awake to the danger, and will not speak out and rebuke the second-rate politicians who foster these bad feelings, and exasperate the evil.

Yes, second-rate politicians—those whom

old Gov. Barbour used to call *little bob-tailed politicians*—not the thorough-bred---not those who have walked on a lofty platform, and have been long in the public eye, and have seen and known enough of high station, to be above the arts of the herds of climbers below them, who will clutch at any thing, to help their ascent.

The great mass of those men of lofty and expanded views who look over the whole country, and look into the future, are not in office at all, and will not be tempted into the narrow and tortuous paths of political intrigue---men who are not seeking for office or place, but content to think that "the post of Honor is the private station." There are thousands of such, true, well-informed, disinterested patriots, scattered thick over our whole land; and then there are others who have "wintered and summered" the cares and toils and vanities of high station, and who, ripe with knowledge and warmed with an elevated and cosmopolite love of country, scorn party and sectional politics, and soar above demagogueism. Such men tower before us and battle like Archangels in the van of Liberty's legions. Such men are Clay, Cass, Webster, Dickinson, Foote, Dodge of Iowa, Douglass of Ill., Fillmore, Choate of Mass., Hamilton and Poinsett of S. C., King of Ala., Cobb of Ga., Clayton of Del., and many others—men of both parties, standing shoulder to shoulder, forgetful of all party divisions, regardless of all party supremacy; fearless of all party denunciations; while they battle for their whole country, her Liberty and Union.

Can the people see this state of things and not wake up? Alas! too much prosperity hath made us forgetful that the "price of Liberty is eternal vigilance"

The reason of this apathy is that as Republics will always be turbulent, the people have witnessed so much noise and tumult in politics, leading apparently to no harmful result, that they think this present state of confusion is only another storm of the political atmosphere, which will blow over, as others have done.

But, *not so*. This present juncture is far more perilous than any other that ever occurred—it has elements of danger in it, that no previous one ever carried with it.

First.—It is a *geographical, sectional* quarrel.

Secondly.—It is founded in a diversity of character, pursuits and domestic institutions of the parties combatant.

Thirdly.—The quarrel arises from a cause which strikes directly at, and tends to rend in two, that which *alone* makes us one people.

First, it is the *North* against the *South*---the *South* against the *North*. There is a split across the primitive granite of the Confederacy, and it is Mason and Dixon's Line. North and South are wedging it open---if once fairly opened, there will be a "great gulph" yawning in the common Campus, and the self-sacrificing spirit of no one Curtius, can close the irreparable breach.

Secondly. It cannot be denied that there does exist a marked diversity in many respects between the people of the North and the South. This diversity perhaps may be traced back for centuries to the very difference of origin. There never was much affinity between the cavalier and the round head ---between the Hugenot and the cautious Quaker. Neither can there be now between the proud, but generous, the impulsive, though indolent Carolinian who values his personal honor above every thing, and the cautious, and steadfast, but stubborn Yankee, who cannot understand, and will not believe, that the Carolinian would readily secede from the Union upon the *point of honor*, and risk lands and negroes, and peace and Union, if he believes *this* to be involved, without stopping an instant to calculate the awful and inevitable consequences to the whole country. In fact, if the North could only know the South better, they would not *tolerate* among them those blind fanatics who are even now *wantonly insulting the South*. For nothing but a feeling of this kind could have prompted the recent action of Vermont. There is something in the total absence of any grievance from fugitive slaves within her borders, and her security always from any such; that makes one almost suspect that something of a selfish and cowardly feeling of security in her geographical position, utterly unworthy of her former character, prompted the step. Her people could not have been represented fairly in the Legislature. This must have been the work of *her* bob-tailed politicians. We desire not to irritate, and we know that States, like individuals, will sometimes do foolish things---and Legislatures do not always represent the good sense nor the purposes of the people. *We know that in Virginia.*

Yet, while Vermont is swaggering against the South, by passing an unconstitutional law ---which will be so pronounced if tested in the

Supreme Court (and which decision we venture to affirm, *she* will submit to)---look to the South, and see South Carolina in a mood far more serious and dangerous, devising plans for *resistance* to the Union and the Constitutional enactments of Congress. Nay more, of calmly, but resolutely, resolving to quit the Union---virtually declaring *that it is already dissolved;* and this brings us to the

Third, consideration---That this unhappy difference is one which frays away

> "the golden link, the silken tie,
> Which heart to heart and mind to mind
> In body and in soul doth bind."

The Union of these States is a SENTIMENT ---nothing less --nothing more.

We are not kept together by ancient associations, time-honored usages, common laws, customs and habits, and that intercourse which in time makes the family ties so plicated and complicated as to be almost unseverable. Neither are we hooped together, as in the Revolution, by the force of danger from without. Neither have we the bayonets of England, France or Russia, to scatter meetings of the people and prevent public action ---and what ligament of *parchment* can hold nations together, when the action on both sides is to rend it asunder?

Then we argue, what is it after all, but a *sentiment*? Still a sentiment---hallowed, exalted, ennobling---having its origin in feelings the holiest---cemented by common blood shed in a noble cause---cherished by fraternal kindness, sanctified by common dangers, rendered illustrious by a common prosperity. We thought it was more enduring than brass and stronger than adamant. It ought to be! Oh, it ought to be!!

May it yet be preserved? GOD in his mercy grant it. The hearts of the people are in his hands, and it is the PUBLIC HEART that must beat in unison---pulsate as the heart of one man in favor of brotherly kindness---forbearance, patience and charity.--There is still time to save the Republic; perhaps---but if saved, it will be at the *eleventh hour*, and by the PEOPLE speaking out as with Supreme authority, "Peace---be still!"

NUMBER III.

The question is, as we have shewn, rendered more alarming, because of the *fact*, that the Compromise Measures so earnestly looked to quiet the agitation, have *failed to do so*. Making all allowance for the heaving of the waters, which must follow a storm; in the extremities of the Union, there seems still to be a spirit of sectional bitterness, beyond the mere consequences of previous agitation.

We have assumed and we think proved, that both extremes are wrong. If we wish to discover what may and ought to be done to calm the troubled waters and put the Ship of State again upon a smooth sea, we must look to the cause of the evil, and we shall then discover that both parties, North and South, are *mistaken* in the views, intentions, and opinions of the *People* of each section. For example—since writing our last editorial, where we ventured the opinion that the people of Vermont were not fairly represented by their Legislature who passed the recent law there, we have assurance not only of that fact, but a disclosure of proceedings, proving, that it was a *trick* of that pestilent sept of intermeddling agitators, the Abolitionists; and we are confidently assured that the law will be repealed to their disgrace and confusion at the next session. This party, the Abolitionists, proper, we alledge, to be numerically, a small one, who *have not* the sympathies or respect of the great body of the Northern people. Let any man travel in the North, and converse with the people of the country —let him enquire of those who know public opinion on this subject, and he will be told that the great body of the Northern people are conservative and sound upon the very point that South Carolina chooses to consider them unsound upon. We have been assured by those who have a right to speak, in New England, New York and Pennsylvania, that if need were, they would march to the South, in a body, to suppress any domestic trouble which might be stirred up against their brethren of the South; and the first men shot down, would be the unnatural traitors who might have aided in producing it. If the pro-slavery hotspurs of the South expect that the opinions of the people of the non-slaveholding States are to be changed upon the question of the excellence of the Institution, they expect too much; especially when we see the impolitic style of argument hitherto used to convert them. They must do more. These new-light ultraists must first refute the arguments of the fathers of the Republic who were once the oracles of the South on all questions of public polity—such men as WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, MADISON, and Judge ST. GEORGE TUCKER. Nay more —they must come down to the session of the

Virginia Legislature within the last twenty years, when by a majority of her then leading men the question of the *perpetuity of slavery*, so far as could be gathered from spoken words, was pronounced against, and it was by a small vote that a law was then voted down for prospective emancipation. The agitation and discussion of this momentous question has been put aside in the South, only, because the men who make an Idol of One Idea in the North, have chosen to intermeddle in the disposition of a question which don't concern them. Here is the grand mistake of Southern ultra, pro-slavery men. They seek not so much to protect themselves—for they are already protected by the ægis of the Constitution, and by a law which *will* be carried out—they seek more : to set up a school of propagandism in favor of the excellence, expediency and economy of slavery as a system of labour, when their very senses must prove to them, that in an economical point of view, at least ; it has, and always must keep the States where it prevails, *behind* those where it does not. The effects are obvious to the eye of any man who will sail down the Ohio River, with Virginia and Kentucky on one side, and the State of Ohio on the other—who will pass on the Atlantic border from Pennsylvania or New York to North or South Carolina.—Where are the cities, towns, cultivation, manufactures and population in the South to compare with the North? Why has Virginia fallen lower and lower down the files at every decennial muster of the States? until now--she who was the first in the Confederacy at the period of the Revolution, is below those even who have been formed out of her own relinquished territory: let her worn out fields---her beautiful and bountiful territory intersected by navigable rivers, with an excellent climate, lands producing abundantly, but without cities or manufactures, or any diversity of occupation for her people; answer the question. Her best wealth, which is her population, has been drained, (the slave-holding part of it.) to build up the South-West ---her non-slaveholding portion to the North-West, to escape a *system* of labor which is unfavorable to the artizan, the poor young man who wishes to rise in this rising country, and who seeks a land where the great laboring class are freemen, where the great substr tum of society consist of those to whom wealth and distinction is open ; who *may* rise there, but not here; instead of a class of another color, whose very position and status demand that they shall not be permitted to advance one inch.

This great question is one which cannot be blinked, even in the South. It is one apart from all considerations of the moral or political bearing of the institution---it is one which works out its own solution, for there never yet was a people living under a free government who would persist in following up a losing business. The common sense of self-interest forbids it. The inevitable result of the right to better their condition, will in time change a system which is ruinous, *economically;* and this is the true mode and the fair mode of settling this momentous question. We believe it would have been settled in Maryland and Kentucky, and perhaps in Virginia, by this time, if our "higher law" brethren---our dearly beloved GARRISONS and PARKERS---aided by their foreign allies, had attended to what is sometimes called the 11th Commandment, which is, that "every man should attend to his own business."

But the mistake, and the egregious one of the Southern ultra men, is, in the expectation or imagination (let us call it) that they can produce unanimity upon this phasis of the great question. We live here upon the borders;—we have smarted severely under the unkind, unfraternal course of the Free States in regard to our fugitive slaves;—we have been born and trained up among slaves and have inherited and own them;---but we know public sentiment *here even*, and it is more unequivocal still farther West in Virginia on this subject. Let not South Carolina forget how many of all grades among us are *non-slaveholders;* yea, wealthy land-holders, and men of all callings. This class, so loyal to our institutions, so quiet and obedient to all laws passed by a slave-holding community, have some limit to their forbearance. They can't stand every thing, and one thing we confidently aver *they will not stand*, and that is, they will never consent to bring up the rear, nor stand in the van, of any Southern Confederacy. In a word, South Carolina will find that she counts one too many on her roster, if she expects Virginia to answer to her roll call. *Verbum sat.*

NUMBER IV.

The lamentable and alarming growth of the spirit of *Disunion*, is to be seen in the avowal and open advocacy of it, North and South.

Daring and unblushing opinions, which in the better days of the Republic would have stamped the man with the brand of a *traitor*, are now blurted out in our public places—acted upon by Legislative bodies—and yet the thunder of the People's condemnation, still sleeps.

It is idle to say that these things mean nothing; it is worse than idle to say, that they tend to no evil. It is an insult to our understandings to say that, there is such tyranny, oppression, or practical injustice exercised by the General Government, as to call for revolution. The real mischief is to be found in the factious spirit of sectional pride; in the one-sided view of this great question, which, almost wilfully, charges the comparatively retarded prosperity of the South, to the partiality of Congress; when it is owing to the inherent characteristics of our peculiar system—that is to say slavery itself.

It is *this*, that occasions and keeps us in the *plantation state*. We cannot have cities, and growing towns, and manufactures, and success in the various mechanical and scientific arts, when we lack that great substratum of society—laborers, artizans, mechanics and tradesmen; who can make themselves skillful in their callings by education, training, and successful enterprize.

Why is not Lowell in the cotton region? Why is Norfolk, with its noble harbor and excellent advantages, a small borough, while New York is the Emporium of Commerce? Why are Alexandria and Richmond far in the rear of Philadelphia? Let it be so—it is the result of a cause beyond our control; but why wilfully mistake the cause—above all why not remedy the evil if we can, or if we cannot; use and enjoy thankfully and in a brotherly spirit the blessings of that UNION which can *alone* give us the benefits of our slave labor and productions, and ensure to us, our high relative prosperity. No, the spirit of discontent and *envy*, and *sectional bitterness*, and *wounded pride*, prefers to find cause of civil war, in prospective agressions—to risk a glorious future in divisions, and fragmentary governments, and more than doubtful success:—"to call evil good, and good evil—to put darkness for light, and light for darkness." A *Southern Confederacy!*—Where is the mighty West?—the basin of the Empire, extending from the range of mountains within our sight, to the slopes of the Rocky mountains, and from the head waters of the Assineboin to the Balize?

Will this great country, bound together by common ties—social, political, and geographical—go with you? or *consent* to the patricidal blow? drained by one great river and its tributaries, having one great outlet on the gulf—including Western Virginia, Pennsylvania and other Atlantic States. Will the Northern part give up the navigation of the Mississippi; or the Southern part their connexions with States on the Ohio, the Tennessee, the Cumberland and the Missouri?—Never! That country is formed by nature and nature's GOD, to be ONE—and to the eyes of any dispassionate man the WHOLE country of the United States, unlike any other Continent, is formed to be one and indivisable, geographically. GOD hath joined us together—let no sacralegious man put us assunder.

But we have no space to enlarge upon this last view so fruitful and instructive.

Let us come to the matter in hand—to the results of our reflections—upon the true course for the PEOPLE, the depositories of power, and of our destinies, to pursue in the present crisis.

It is certain, that we cannot rely upon our politicians. These are they who brought on this state of feeling by mixing up this slave question with miserable partizan politics—President making and party ascendancy. This is true of *both* parties—even now, *now*, when our blessed Union is almost dissolved, do we see this awful question mixed in with the earthy elements of individual ambition;—then,

1. Let the real strength and calm wisdom, and conservative power of the country—the *People*—forget party divisions until the Republic is out of danger. Democrats and Whigs! stand shoulder to shoulder under the bright stars of your country. Our little party strifes are dwarfed into nothingness when we are called upon to save the citadel of our liberties.

2. Let us distrust all *Conventions*. The old Convention that formed the *Constitution* with GEORGE WASHINGTON at its head, was good enough for us. If these proposed Conventions consist only of *Union* men, they can only pass flourishing resolutions, and make flourishing speeches;—and if it is thought that this will be regarded as an overwhelming expression of popular sentiment, there is a better way, and that is to do it in *Committee of the* WHOLE PEOPLE. If we are to have Abolitionists, Free-Soilers, and ultra

Slavery men, in these Conventions, discord rendered more discordant, and confusion worse confounded, will be the result. If it is intended (and whether so intended, or not; such may be the effect) to give them the powers of a constituent assembly to *alter the Constitution*, we raise our protest against it—"we stand by the work of our fathers, we stand by the Union" as it is.

3. The Union-men of the *North* have their mission and duty. In point of fact, it is at the North chiefly that the work is to be done. The Constitution, dear to us all, was founded in a spirit of Compromise. If it is not absolutely perfect, in theory, in the eyes of some, North and South; we all profess to believe that it is the best that could have been made under the circumstances of its creation and adoption, and that we are willing to stand by it. By it our slaves are to *be delivered up when they abscond from our service.* This is a substantive and positive duty and obligation assumed and binding on the Free States, and this is, and was, an essential stipulation in the Compact. The Northern people do not understand the relation of master and servant, as it exists here between us. They have no idea, and do not believe, how *we have to work* for our negroes, and how little *they work for us*—how good servants love and honor their masters, and have good reason to do so; and how this unjust, insulting preference for the runaway (generally a thief, and always a bad negro) serves to rivet the bondage of those who are left:-and how often by the mere wantonness of fanaticism and an intermeddling spirit, the widow and the orphan, and struggling farmer with narrow means, are crippled by the loss of valuable servants, who have cost more to raise them than their labor is worth. Well, let the *North* understand and *believe*, if they wish to save the Union, that *they* MUST *enforce this Constitutional guarantee.* We stand upon our Constitutional rights in this. Let the fugitive law be what it may—wise or not, in its details—your fathers took the Union and you have thriven under it, on *this condition*—and rely upon it, you will have *bloodshed* in your borders, ending in an irremediable breach between us, if you continue to prefer the runaway slave to your political brethren of the same color and origin with yourselves. People of the North! look to this! and compel your politicians and Legislatures to look this great question in the face, and no longer trifle with *fire-brands, over an open mine of combustibles.* We speak this in all sober sadness—deeply convinced from careful reflection that the *whole* Slave-holding community will prefer any thing, disunion and civil war, the chance of domestic troubles, and interneeine strife, to the continuance of this wanton disregard of our sacred rights under the law paramount of the land. Then people of the North—loving the Union—shew in your meetings, your instructions to your Legislatures, your election of Union men, your ready *obedience* to the law, that your love of country is not "*bounded on the South*" by MASON & DIXON's line.

4. What shall we say to the *People* of the South—the great multitude of freemen who have borne so long and so patiently these wanton assaults upon their domestic peace, and who yet lift up their eyes to the starry symbol of the Union, and who yet hope and trust that we may still live together in peace?

We say—assert your rights—demand and strive for your Constitutional privileges—claim and reclaim your lawful property under and *within the pale of the Constitution*:—it is strong enough to hold us—it is potent enough to secure them.

Let us resolve too to cling to that which is the ark of our safety, and rebuke by our fidelity to every plank and spar in it, the mad career of some of our Southern brethren. Let each section do its appropriate work, *at home.* The voice of the mighty host, of Union-loving Southern men, if once heard by those who dare to jeopard your lives and fortunes and sacred liberties, and leave to your children an inheritance of civil war; would hush them into a shamed silence, now and forever. Then,

5thly and lastly—Let all the PEOPLE speak out---let them do this privately, publicly, through the press, by their letters, in spoken and written and printed words, but above all in their primary *County and District* meetings, all over the country from Maine to the Capes of Florida, from the shores of the Atlantic to the strand of the Californias.

The movement should be *universal*—for the evil threatens all. The uprising should be *immediate*---for the danger is imminent.—This is our counsel and best opinion. We go back to the source of political power, that the stream may be purified. We invoke the *masters* to command and restrain their *own servants.* We call upon the citizens of the country, with an humble reliance upon GOD's help, to save their own liberties.

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